

Exhibit 21



Transcript of **VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES REDISTRICTING FLOOR DEBATE**

Date: April 6, 2011

Case: BETHUNE-HILL, ET AL v. VIRGINIA STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS, ET AL

Planet Depos, LLC
Phone: 888-433-3767
Fax: 888-503-3767
Email: transcripts@planetdepos.com
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1 _____
2 GOLDEN BETHUNE-HILL, et al.,)
3 Plaintiffs,)
4 vs.)
5 VIRGINIA STATE BOARD OF)
6 ELECTIONS, et al.)
7 Defendants.)
8 _____

9 VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES
10 REDISTRICTING FLOOR DEBATE
11 _____

12 APRIL 6, 2011
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22 TRANSCRIBED BY: CHERYL J. HAMMER, RPR, CCR 2512

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1 the bill.

2 MR. SPEAKER: Gentleman has the floor.

3 DEL. WARD L. ARMSTRONG: The hour is
4 late. Everyone in here is tired. I will be brief,
5 but this bill will affect 8 million people in this
6 commonwealth for the next decade. Yesterday was about
7 legal arguments. Today we talk about policy and
8 what's right.

9 Last night I had the privilege of
10 speaking at the Sorensen Institute dinner along with
11 our Speaker and the majority leader of the Senate and
12 the minority leader, and I told a joke about my good
13 friend from Henrico and his war shark ink blot, and we
14 kidded about redistricting.

15 But one of the things that I said to
16 the group in seriousness last night is that we are in
17 sore need of a nonpartisan commission to draw lines.

18 Now, in drawing a redistricting plan
19 in this commonwealth, when subject to the Voting
20 Rights Act, the first thing that one has to do is make
21 it legal, and that meets compliance with Section 2 and
22 Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, and so that was in

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1 the criteria.

2 But we've all seen the criteria list
3 that came out of the privileges and elections
4 committee about keeping communities together and
5 communities of interest in contiguity and population
6 deviations. Let's not kid ourselves. The number one
7 criteria in the drafting of a redistricting plan, 5001
8 or the one down the hall in the Senate, is protecting
9 the incumbents of the majority party and, when
10 convenient, protecting incumbents of the minority
11 party.

19 It is the most selfish exercise in
20 politics, in government, one that will turn friend on
21 friend. You know, when they train lifeguards -- and
22 you've seen on Baywatch they have the red floats --

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1 they tell a lifeguard, when you get near a drowning
2 person, don't touch them; they'll grab you and pull
3 you under. Give them the float. It is that much at
4 stake.

5 And I suppose that it's, it's easy to
6 do and get away with because the public either doesn't
7 get it or doesn't care. It's not like raising their
8 taxes or taking away their pellet guns. I mean, it's
9 -- in fact, I would say if you walked up to 10 people
10 on the street and said, they're doing redistricting.
11 What's that? Nine of them couldn't tell you what it
12 was.

13 But it is the most basic of what we do
14 because it is -- it affects everything we do, because
15 it affects how we select ourselves. You know, you
16 know, some may say, well, the only reason you're
17 standing up is because it gets you. This isn't about
18 Ward Armstrong. You know, you can replace the
19 president of the United States, you can replace me. I
20 won't be remembered 10 minutes after I'm gone, and at
21 the end of the day, that doesn't matter either.

22 What does matter, though, is that

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1 people are able to choose for themselves their own
2 representatives, not the other way around. That we
3 carve these districts up so the outcome is
4 preordained, and we do it to protect ourselves.

5 Well, I suppose it'll be what it'll
6 be. I know the outcome of this vote. There probably
7 won't be single digits against it in a few minutes.

8 You know who could stop this? The guy
9 that sleeps across the street. And in fact I'll tell
10 you, that's what it's going to take. If Bob McDonald
11 said, I will veto any bill that gets to my desk that's
12 not the result of a nonpartisan commission, it would
13 end. Either you send a nonpartisan commission bill or
14 you can go to federal court, take your choice, and
15 that would end it.

16 But no, we all know that that isn't
17 going to happen. I heard earlier today that he keeps
18 campaign promises. Well, he doesn't keep all of them.
19 He isn't going to keep this one.

20 You know, when I leave this place, on
21 a lot of days I've really felt good. The day that we
22 passed the bill that created that new college back in

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1 TRANSCRIPTION CERTIFICATE

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3 I, CHERYL J. HAMMER, the undersigned
4 Certified Court Reporter in and for the state of
5 Washington, do hereby certify:

6 That the foregoing transcript was
7 transcribed under my direction; that the transcript is
8 true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and
9 ability to hear the audio; that I am not a relative or
10 employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the
11 parties hereto; nor am I financially interested in the
12 event of the cause.

13

14 WITNESS MY HAND this 18th day of May 2015.

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20 CHERYL J. HAMMER

21 Certified Court Reporter

22 CCR No. 2512